

# THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

VOLUME I.

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### ADDRESS

To the people of West Virginia; showing that slavery is injurious to the public welfare, and that it may be gradually abolished, without detriment to the rights and interests of slaveholders; by HENRY REFFER, D. D., Lexington, Va.

### CONCLUDED.

Here, fellow-citizens, we conclude the general argument; not because we have exhausted our materials—far from it—but because you will think we have said enough for the present. We shall now, by way of appendix to the argument, lay down three propositions, to show the necessity of immediate action, to deliver our West Virginia from the growing evils of slavery.

1. Comparatively few slaves in a country, especially one like ours, may do it immense injury.

This has been already proved; but we wish to impress it on your minds. We shall, therefore, explain by examples, how a few slaves in a country may do its citizens more immediate injury, than a large number.

When a white family own fifty or one hundred slaves, they can, so long as they land produce well, afford to be indolent and expensive in their habits; for though each slave yields only a small profit, yet each member of the family has ten or fifteen of these black work-animals to toil for his support. It is not until the fields grow old, and the overseer take nearly all the day of ruin can be no longer postponed. If the family be not very indolent and very expensive, this inevitable day may not come before the third generation. But the ruin of small slaveholders, is often accomplished in a single lifetime.

When a white family own five or ten slaves, they cannot afford to be indolent and expensive in their habits; for one black drudge cannot support one white gentleman or lady. Yet, because they are slaveholders, this family will feel some aspirations for a life of easy gentility; and because field work and kitchen work are negroes' work, the young gentlemen will dislike to go with the negroes to dirty field work, and the young ladies will dislike to join the black sluts in any sort of household labor. Such unwholesome sentiments are the natural consequence of introducing slaves among the families of a country; especially negro-slaves. They infallibly grow and spread, creating among the white families a distaste for all servile labor, and a desire to procure slaves who may take all drudgery off their hands. Thus general industry gives way by degrees to indolent relaxation, false notions of dignity and refinement, and a taste for fashionable luxuries. Then debts slyly accumulate. The result is, that many families are compelled by their embarrassments to sell off and leave the country. Many who are unable to buy slaves, leave it also, because they feel degraded, and cannot prosper where slavery exists. Citizens of the Valley? Is it not so? Is not this the chief reason why our beautiful country does not prosper like the Northern Valleys?

2. Slavery naturally tends to increase from small beginnings, until the slaves outnumber the whites, and the country is ruined.

How this comes to pass, is partly explained in the preceding remarks.

The tendency of a slave population to gain upon the whites, may be counteracted by local causes, permanent or temporary. One permanent cause is the vicinity of a free State; a temporary cause occurred ten or twelve years ago, when the high price of negroes in the South, caused many to be sold out of our Valley. The tendency is stronger also in a planing country, than it is in a farming or grazing country; yet so strong is the tendency itself, that it overcomes this check in West Virginia; for with the temporary exception just alluded to, the slave population has been steadily gaining on the white, in all parts except the vicinity of the free States.

We have examined the census of counties for the last thirty or forty years, in Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, with the view to discover the law of population in the Northern slave States. The following are among the general results.

When a county had at first comparatively few slaves, the slave population—except near the free borders—gained upon the whites, and most rapidly in the older parts of the country.

The population, as a whole, increased so long as the slaves were fewer than the whites, but more slowly as the numbers approached to equality. In our Valley, a smaller proportion of slaves had the effect of a larger one in East Virginia, to retard the increase of population.

When the slaves became as numerous as the whites in the Eastern and older parts of the country, population came to a stand; when they outnumbered the whites, it declined. Consequently, the slave population has tended to diffuse itself equally over the country, rising more rapidly as it was farther below the white population, and going down when it had risen above them.

Such were the general results. Exceptions occurred, but all general rules of this nature have their exceptions. This is nevertheless the law of population in a slave State.

3. The price of cotton will probably decline more and more, and consequently the value of slaves; then also the law of slave increase, by which it gains on the white population, will operate in West Virginia with ruinous effect, unless prevented by law.

The price of cotton has regulated the price of negroes in Virginia; and so it must continue to do; because slave labor is unprofitable here, and nothing keeps up the price of slaves but their value as a marketable commodity in the South. Eastern negroes and Western cattle are alike in this, that if the market abroad go down or be closed—both sorts of animals, the horned and the woolly-headed, become a worthless drug at home. The fact is, that our Eastern brethren must sell off, on any terms,

the increase of their slaves, because their impoverished country cannot sustain even its present stock of negroes. We join not the English and American abolition cry about "slave-breeding," in East Virginia, as if it were a chosen occupation, and therefore a reproachful one. It is no such thing, but a case of dire necessity, and many a heartache does it cost the good people there. But behold in the East the doleful consequences of letting slavery grow up to an oppressive and heart-sickening burden upon a community! Cast it off, West Virginians, whilst you have the power; for if you let it descend unbroken to your children, it will have grown to a mountain of misery upon their heads.

We have the following reasons to apprehend, that unless prevented by law, the slave population will in a few years increase rapidly in West Virginia.

1. The price of cotton must fall, and with it the value of slaves.

From 15 to 20 years ago, the average price of cotton was 11 cents a pound; in the last five years between 7 and 8 cents—had the last crop been a full one, the average would have been under 7 cents. Every successive full crop now depresses the price lower and lower; showing that the supply is on the whole out-running the demand. It must outrun the demand, while the Southern slave-market is open to Northern slaveholders.

From 1820 to 1830, the slaves in the cotton-growing States (South of Tennessee and North Carolina) increased 15 per cent., and in the next 10 years they increased 34 per cent. In 1840 the number including those in Texas was about 1,300,000. The number increases as fast as ever; for to the natural increase of the Southern stock, is added the increase of the Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina negroes, and half the increase of those in Kentucky and Tennessee. Thus the negro population of the cotton States, is going on to double itself in a period of 16 or 18 years.

Now the production of cotton must increase at the same rate as the slave population, for cotton and sugar are the only crops in which the slaves can be profitably employed; and the production of sugar cannot increase faster than that of cotton. There will be no stoppage for want of good land. Texas has enough to produce ten times the quantity of the present annual crop.

But the consumption of cotton cannot increase at the same rate. The population of the countries that consume our cotton, does not double itself in less than 60 years; how then can they double their consumption in 15 years, or even twice that period? Therefore the price of cotton must fall, and the Southern demand for Virginia negroes must cease.

2. Good policy will require the Southern States, ere long, to close their markets against Northern negroes. The natural increase of their present stock of slaves, will increase the production of cotton as fast as the market will bear. Their short crops have always brought them more money than their full crops; showing that it is their interest to restrict the quantity within certain limits. A small excess in the quantity, causes a ruinous fall in the price. Suppose the average profit to the planter to be now two cents to the pound; then a fall of one cent takes away half the profit and half the value of their slave labor; and a fall of two cents would ruin the business. Good reason, therefore, had Mr. Bruce to apprehend that the Southern slave market might, ere long, be closed; and to urge Virginians to hasten the removal of their negroes to the South.

But whether it be closed or not, one thing is evident—that the value of slaves in the market must decline more and more. What then?

3. When the Southern slave market is closed, or when, by the reduced profits of slave labor in the South, it becomes glutted—then the stream of Virginia negroes, heretofore pouring down upon the South, will be thrown back upon the State, and like a river dammed up, must spread itself over the whole territory of the commonwealth. The head spring in East Virginia cannot contain itself; it must find vent, it will shed its black streams through every gap of the Blue Ridge and pour over the Allegheny, till it is checked by abolitionism on the borders. But even abolitionism cannot finally stop it. Abolitionism itself will tolerate slavery, when slaveholders grow sick and tired of it.

In plain terms, fellow-citizens, Eastern slaveholders will come with their multitudes of slaves to settle upon the fresh lands of West Virginia. Eastern slaves will be sent by thousands for a market in West Virginia. Every valley will echo with the cry "Negroes! Negroes for sale! Dog cheap! Dog cheap!" And because they are dog cheap, many of our people will buy them. We have shown how slavery has prepared the people for this—how a little slavery makes way for more, and how the law of slave-increase operates to fill up every part of the country to the same level with slaves.

And then, fellow-citizens, when you have suffered your country to be filled with negro slaves instead of white freemen; when its population shall be as motley as Joseph's coat of many colors—as ring-streaked and speckled as father Jacob's flock was in Padan Aram—what will the white basis of representation avail you, if you obtain it? Whether you obtain it or not, East Virginia will have triumphed; or rather slavery will have triumphed, and all Virginia will have become a land of darkness and of the shadow of death.

Then by a forbearance which has no excuse, you will have given to your children for their inheritance, this lovely land blackened with a negro population—the off-scourings of Eastern Virginia—the off-scourings of slavery—the loathsome dregs of that cup of abomination, which has already sickened to death the Eastern half of our commonwealth.

Delay not then, we beseech you, to raise a barrier against this Stygian inundation—to stand at the Blue Ridge, and with sovereign energy say to this Black Sea of misery, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther."

To show that the extinction of slavery among us is practicable without injustice or

injury to any man, we present you the following:

### Outlines of a Scheme for the Removal of Slavery.

1. Let the farther importation of slaves into West Virginia be prohibited by law. The expediency of this measure is obvious.

2. Let the exportation of slaves be freely permitted, as heretofore; but with this restriction, that children of slaves, born after a certain day, shall not be exported at all after they are five years old, nor those under that age, unless the slaves of the same negro family be exported with them.

When the emancipation of the after-born children of slaves shall be decreed, many slaves will be exported, from various motives. The restriction is intended to prevent slaveholders from defeating the benevolent intentions of the law, by selling into slavery those entitled to freedom, and old enough to appreciate the privilege designed for them. Young children are allowed to be taken away with their parents and older brothers and sisters, but not to be sold off separately to evade the law.

3. Let the existing generation of slaves remain in their present condition, but let their offspring, born after a certain day, be emancipated at an age not exceeding 25 years.

By this measure slavery will be slowly but surely abolished, without detriment or inconvenience to slaveholders. No pecuniary loss can be sustained, except at the option of the slaveholders, who, if they think that the measure will diminish the value of their slaves in West Virginia, can sell them for exportation or take them away from them in that way, than they could by keeping them and their children as slaves in West Virginia. If they choose to stay and submit to the operation of the emancipation law, they have the certainty of gaining more by the rise in the value of their lands, than they will lose in the market value of their slaves, in consequence of the emancipation law.

Undoubtedly such a law would immediately attract emigrants by thousands from the North—farmers, manufacturers and laborers, who would bring their capital, their skill, and their industry, to enrich the country—to improve its agriculture, draw out the wealth of its mines, and make its idle waterfalls and coal beds work up its abundant materials of manufacture. Before the law would emancipate a single negro, it would already have added more to the value of the lands and town property of West Virginia than all her slaves are worth. If any man among us have many slaves and little or no land, he can easily profit by the law as well as others; let him sell negroes and buy land.

Will any man argue, that the rights of slaveholders will be violated, because those rights extend to the offspring of their slaves?

Note the slaveholder's right of property extends to the offspring of his slaves, so far as this, that when the offspring comes into existence, the law at present allows him to claim it as his. But when the law of the land shall in this particular be changed, his right is at an end; for it is founded solely on human law. By nature all men are free and equal; and human laws can suspend this law of nature, only so long as the public welfare requires it; that is, so long as more evil than good would result from emancipation. When the law of slavery is changed for the public good, all that the slaveholder can claim, is that in some way, he shall be compensated for the property acquired by sanction of law, and taken away by a change of the law. By our scheme nothing is absolutely taken from the slaveholder. It gives him an option, to remove without loss, a nuisance which he holds in the country, or to submit, with a very small loss of value, to another mode of abating that nuisance. We say that the people have a right to remove this pest; and that our scheme gives slaveholders double compensation for what they will suffer by the measure. We have no doubt that before ten years, nearly every slaveholder would acknowledge himself doubly compensated.

4. Let masters be required to have the heirs of emancipation taught reading, writing and arithmetic; and let churches and benevolent people attend to their religious instruction. Thus an improved class of free negroes would be raised up. No objection could be made to their literary education, after emancipation was decreed.

5. Let the emancipated be colonized.—This would be best for all parties. Supposing that by exportation, our slave population should in twenty-two years be reduced to 40,000. Then about 1000 would go out free the first year, and a gradually smaller number each successive year. The 1000 might furnish their own outfit, by laboring a year or two as hirelings; and their transportation to Liberia would cost the people of West Virginia 25,000 dollars; which, as population would by that time have probably reached a million, would be an average contribution of two and a half cents a head. This would be less and less every year. So easy would it be to remove the bugaboo of a free negro population, so often held up to deter us from emancipation. Easy would it be, though our calculations were not fully realized.

Finally, in order to hasten the extinction of slavery, where the people desired it, in counties containing few slaves—the law might authorize the people of any county, by some very large majority, or by consent of a majority of the slaveholders to decree the removal or emancipation of all the slaves of the county, within a certain term of years, seven, ten or fifteen, according to the number of slaves.

This as an auxiliary measure, would be safe and salutary; because the only question then in a country, would be the question of time, which would not be very exciting. But it would be inexpedient as the chief or only measure; for then the people of the same county, or of neighboring counties, might be kept embroiled on the subject for years, and the influence of East Virginia, operating on counties here and there, might defeat the whole measure, by a repeal of the law. Let us move as a body first, and determine the main point. Then the counties might decide the minor point for themselves. Let West Virginia determine to be free on a general principle. Then let the counties

if they will, modify this principle, for more speedy relief.

Now, fellow-citizens, it is for you to determine whether the slavery question shall be considered, discussed and decided, at this critical, this turning point of your country's history; or whether it shall lie dormant until the doom of West Virginia is sealed.—May heaven direct your minds to the course dictated by patriotism, by humanity and by your own true interest.

### Dr. Lang on the Cultivation of Cotton in Australia.

The Rev. Dr. Lang, last evening, delivered, at the Mechanics' Institution an interesting and able lecture on the cultivation of cotton in north-eastern Australia. The audience was rather limited, there not being above 120 persons present. Amongst the auditors, were Thomas Bazley, Esq., chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce; James Aspinall Turner, Esq., chairman of the Manchester Commercial Association; Thomas Boothman, Esq., secretary of the Chamber of Commerce; W. Morris, Esq., the Rev. Mr. Monroe, the Rev. Mr. Currie, &c.

Mr. Bazley occupied the chair. He said that he need not enter into any elaborate statement, to prove that an abundant and constant supply of cotton was of paramount importance to the vast multitude of artisans in this district. At present, we received our supply from very few sources, and the principal portion of it was the produce of slave labor. He did not stand there to advocate any interference with the institutions of another country; but he had opinions and feelings in reference to the freedom of his fellow creatures, of whatever color. He advocated the necessity of personal freedom, as much as of commercial freedom; and, with respect to cotton, it would be well if we could increase the sources of our supply, and at the same time do so as to promote the freedom of humanity. During the last year, we had been suffering from a deficiency of food and of cotton. A new field, however, seemed to be opening to us in the new world. South Australia he believed to be capable of producing, in quantity and quality, a very important supply of raw cotton. Dr. Lang would be able to show that that country had produced beautiful cotton, and it was most desirable that we should receive a supply from thence. In the infancy of many gentlemen who are still among us, and who might be called the patriarchs of our trade, the United States of America began the production of cotton; and if such wonderful results could be produced within the lifetime of individuals, we might fairly anticipate that, in the new field now opened up to us, and with the intelligence that the world now possessed, a large supply of the staple article might be grown for us.

Year mission was to be a model for all governments and for all other less favored nations, to adhere to the most elevated principles of political morality, to apply all your faculties to the gradual improvement of your country, to extend and to improve your commerce, to exert a moral influence most beneficial to mankind at large. Instead of this, an appeal has been made to your worst passions; to cupidity, to the thirst of unjust aggrandizement by brute force; to the love of military fame and of false glory; and it has been tried to pervert the noblest feelings of your nature. The attempt is made to make you abandon the lofty path which your fathers occupied, to substitute for it the political morality and heathen patriotism of the heroes and statesmen of antiquity. I have said, that it was attempted to pervert your virtues. Devotedness to country, or patriotism, is a most essential virtue, since the national existence of any society depends upon it. Unfortunately, our most virtuous dispositions are perverted, not only by our excesses, but by the most holy of our attributes, the religious feeling, may be perverted from that cause, as was too lamentably exhibited in the persecutions, even unto death, of those who were devoted to the cause of humanity. It is not, therefore, astonishing, that patriotism, carried to excess should also be perverted. In the entire devotedness to their country, the people everywhere and at all times, have been too apt to forget the rights of man, and to be unjust towards other nations. It is against this natural propensity that you should be specially on your guard. The blame does not attach to those who, led by their patriotic feelings, have been guilty of the national standard. On the contrary, no men are more worthy of admiration, better entitled to the thanks of their country than the patriots of the past and the present, who, with the utmost self-devotedness, brave death and stake their own lives in the conflict against the actual enemy. I must confess, that I do not extend the same charity to the politicians, who deliberately plunge the country into any unjust or unnecessary war.

We should here but one consequence; and most happy would it be for mankind, were the management of the internal or external national concerns, as they are in private life. The irreproachable private character of the President, and of all the members of the Executive, is an honor and a respectability to the nation. There is not one of them who would not set up with indignation the most remote hint, as similar pretences to those alleged for dismembering Mexico, might be applied to attempting to appropriate to himself his neighbor's farm.

In the total absence of any argument that can justify the war in which we are now involved, resort has been had to the most extraordinary assertion. It is said, that the people of the United States have a hereditary superiority of race over the Mexicans, which gives them the right to subjugate and keep in bondage the inferior nation. This, it is said, is the basis of the claims of the United States, and of improving their social state, and of ultimately increasing the happiness of the masses. It is incompatible with the principle of democracy, which rejects every hereditary claim of superiority, to admit an hereditary superiority of race! You very properly deny, that the non-con, independent of his own merit, derive any right or privilege whatever, from the merit or any other social superiority of his father. Can you for a moment suppose, that a very doubtful descent from men, who lived one thousand years ago, has transmitted to you a superiority over your fellow-men? But Anglo-Saxons were inferior to the Goths, when the Spaniards claim to be descended; and they were in no respect superior to the Franks and to the Burgundians.

It is not to their Anglo-Saxon descent, but to a variety of causes, among which the subsequent mixture of Frenchified Normans, Angevins and Gascons must not be forgotten, that the English are indebted for their superior facilities. In the progressive improvement of mankind, much more has been due to religious and political institutions, than to races. Whenever the European nations, which, from their language and respectability, are regarded as superior, are presented to being to the Latin or Slavonian races, have conquered institutions similar to those of England, there will be no trace left of the pretended superiority of one of these races above the other. At this time, the present is the proper time to allege, and justify claim to be a product of the greatest detestable and unchristianlike principle, that no government is to be founded on the right of governing another man. He may, indeed, acquire a moral

free trade has given us free intercourse. Of all our manufactured goods, the population of Russia consumes 71.22 per head; that of the German Empire, 83.44; of the French Empire, about 1s. 5d.; of the United States, 5s. 6d.; of Canada, £1. 15s.; and of Australia, £7. 10s. per head per annum. (Cheers.) As customers, therefore, for our produce and manufactures, every man, woman, and child in Australia was worth four Canadians, 27 Americans, 100 Frenchmen, and 200 Russians and Germans. (Laughter and cheers.) Another result of the growth of sheep wool in Australia had been the reduction of the price of the article to one-fourth of what it was fifty years ago. He anticipated precisely the same results from the cultivation of cotton wool in that colony. There would not only be an increase of the quantity imported, but a reduction of the price of the best qualities; for it would be the superior qualities that would chiefly be produced in Australia.

Dr. Lang then proceeded, as he had previously done before the Chamber of Commerce, to describe the territory of Cooksland, in North-Eastern Australia, or that portion of the colony which he looks upon as the future cotton field of Great Britain. He described its position, between the 26th and 30th parallels of south latitude, its physical appearance, its wonderful salubrity of climate, its adaptability to European constitutions, and its admirable fitness for the growth of a superior kind of cotton, worth, according to the present scale of prices, about 11d. or 1s. per lb. He contended that the habit of the cotton planter was in the dry and warm regions of the temperate zone, such as Egypt and Cooksland; that there it flourished best, and not in the humid and hot atmosphere of India; and that the plant was not, as had been asserted by a journal in this city, a native of the terra caliente of Mexico. Having shown that Cooksland was at every fifty miles intersected by a river, navigable for steamboats of one hundred tons, for a distance inwards of from thirty to eighty miles; the average breadth of the territory, up to the range of mountains which skirted it, and which run parallel with the sea, being about sixty miles—he showed that although about three times the amount of rain fell in 1845 at Sydney, as compared with London, the normal or regular state of the atmosphere was so dry that the hygrometer stood at zero, indicating that there was no humidity in the atmosphere at all. All the products of tropical climates might be grown there, including cotton. On the banks of the rivers favorable to steam navigation, there was a boundless quantity of land ready for the plough; and an agricultural population settled thereon would have advantages of soil and climate, and means of communication, such as were enjoyed in no other country on the surface of the globe, and such as, he was confident, would enable them to compete successfully, in the growth of cotton, either with the slave labor of the United States or the Brazil, or with the free labor of British India. There was no mystery, as he knew from personal observation, in the growth of cotton. If a negro stolen from Africa could learn the whole art in a fortnight, surely an intelligent English farmer could not be long in acquiring it. It was an atrocious libel on Providence to say that free labor could not compete with slave labor. As to the objection grounded on the remote distance of the colony, that was a mere bugbear. The distance was found to be of no account in competing with the wool growers of Spain and Germany, and why should it be in competing with the cotton-growers of Alabama and New Orleans? The facilities which the colonists would have in shipping their produce on the rivers along the coast would far more than compensate for the additional cost of freight. What was now wanted was a practical demonstration of the truth of what he had said as to the capabilities of Cooksland, and when that demonstration were given, there was ample means (in the purchase-money of the colonial lands, set apart by government for the purpose) for conveying thither any conceivable number of fitting laborers, and ample lands for the location of the whole of the redundant population of Great Britain for the next hundred years. He was now attempting to raise funds for the desired experiment. He proposed that a corps of one hundred agricultural families should be sent out before the close of the present year, under the superintendence of an experienced cotton planter from the United States. The cost of such an experiment would be, at least, £5,000; and in the present commercial crisis, he was limiting his efforts to raise this sum by way of loan, to say that their worthy chairman had commenced the subscription with £100. The government had offered every facility that could be reasonably desired in the matter. (Cheers.) In conclusion, Dr. Lang showed that this was the only practicable means of extinguishing slavery in America, and the slave trade in Africa. On the motion of the lecturer, seconded by the Rev. Mr. Monroe, a vote of thanks was passed to the chairman, and the proceedings closed.—Manchester paper of October, 1847.

We extract, from the recent and eloquent pamphlet of the wise and virtuous Albert Gallatin, that portion which is devoted to the consideration of the true objects and mission of our republic. We wish we had room for the whole.

### The Mission of our Republic

"The people of the United States have been placed by Providence in a position never before enjoyed by any other nation. They are possessed of a most extensive territory, with a very fertile soil, a variety of climates and productions, and a capacity of sustaining a population greater, in proportion to its extent, than any other territory of the same size on the face of the globe. By a concurrence of various circumstances, they found themselves, at the epoch of their independence in the full enjoyment of religious, civil, and political liberty, entirely free from any hereditary monopoly of wealth or power. The people at large were in full and quiet possession of their rights, and the people of other countries have for a long time contended, and still do contend, that they were, and you still are the supreme sovereigns, acknowledged as such by all. For the proper exercise of these inalienable rights, and the enjoyment of these inalienable privileges, you are responsible to posterity, to the world at large and to the Almighty Being who has poured on you such unparalleled blessings. Year mission is, to improve the state of the world; to be the 'Model Republic'; to show that men are capable of governing themselves, and that this simple and natural form of government is that which ensures most happiness on all, is productive of the greatest development of the intellectual faculties, above all

that which is attended with the highest standard of private and political virtues and morality.

Your forefathers, the founders of the Republic, imbued with a deep feeling of their rights and duties, did not deviate from these principles. The sound sense, the wisdom, the probity, the respect for public faith, with which the internal concerns of the nation were managed, made our institutions an object of general admiration. Here, for the first time, was the experiment attempted with any prospect of success, and on a large scale, of a Representative Democratic form of government, the last hope of the friends of mankind was lost or inadequately postponed; and the eyes of the world were turned towards you. Whenever real, or pretended apprehensions of the imminent danger of treating the people at large with power, were expressed, the answer was, 'Look at America!'

In their external relations the United States, before this unfortunate war, had, whilst sustaining their just rights, ever acted in strict conformity with the dictates of justice, and displayed the utmost moderation. They never voluntarily injured any other nation. Every acquisition of territory from foreign powers was honestly won; the territory was never imposed, but freely ceded to by the other party. The preservation of peace was always a primary object. The recourse to arms was always in self-defence. On the subject of France, there may have been a difference of opinion; that, in the only two instances of conflict with civilized nations which occurred during a period of sixty-three years, (1793 to 1846), the just rights of the United States had been invaded by a long continued series of aggressions, is undeniable. In the first instance, war was not declared; and there were only partial hostilities between France and England. The aggressions by the United States, the only legitimate organ for that purpose, did, in 1812, declare war against Great Britain. Independent of depredations on our commerce, she had, for twenty years, carried on an actual war against our territory. I say, actual war, since there is now but one opinion on that subject; a renewal of the imprisonment of men sailing under the protection of our flag would be tantamount to a declaration of war. The partial operations of war of 1812, did not rest on a denial of the aggressions of England and of the justice of our cause, but on the fact that, with the exception of imprisonment, similar infractions of our rights had been committed by France, and on the most erroneous belief, that the administration was partial to that country, and insuflated in their apparent efforts to restore peace. At present, all these principles would seem to have been abandoned. The most just, a purely defensive war, and no other is justifiable, is necessarily attended with a train of great and unavoidable evils. What shall we say of one individual, in his origin, and provoked by ourselves, to a war of aggression, which is now publicly avowed to be one of intended conquest? If persisted in, its necessary consequences will be, a permanent increase of our military establishments, and of executive and judicial expenditures, a permanent military and naval tendency, to make man believe man, to awaken his worst passions, to accustom him to the taste of blood. It has already demoralized the susceptible portion of the nation, and has been the cause of the great European powers during the last thirty years, may not be ascribed to the present motives. Be these what they may, this long and unwarlike war, which has been so beneficial to the cause of humanity. Nothing can be more injurious to it, more lamentable, more scandalous, than the war between two adjacent republics of North America.

Our mission was to be a model for all governments and for all other less favored nations, to adhere to the most elevated principles of political morality, to apply all your faculties to the gradual improvement of your country, to extend and to improve your commerce, to exert a moral influence most beneficial to mankind at large. Instead of this, an appeal has been made to your worst passions; to cupidity, to the thirst of unjust aggrandizement by brute force; to the love of military fame and of false glory; and it has been tried to pervert the noblest feelings of your nature. The attempt is made to make you abandon the lofty path which your fathers occupied, to substitute for it the political morality and heathen patriotism of the heroes and statesmen of antiquity. I have said, that it was attempted to pervert your virtues. Devotedness to country, or patriotism, is a most essential virtue, since the national existence of any society depends upon it. Unfortunately, our most virtuous dispositions are perverted, not only by our excesses, but by the most holy of our attributes, the religious feeling, may be perverted from that cause, as was too lamentably exhibited in the persecutions, even unto death, of those who were devoted to the cause of humanity. It is not, therefore, astonishing, that patriotism, carried to excess should also be perverted. In the entire devotedness to their country, the people everywhere and at all times, have been too apt to forget the rights of man, and to be unjust towards other nations. It is against this natural propensity that you should be specially on your guard. The blame does not attach to those who, led by their patriotic feelings, have been guilty of the national standard. On the contrary, no men are more worthy of admiration, better entitled to the thanks of their country than the patriots of the past and the present, who, with the utmost self-devotedness, brave death and stake their own lives in the conflict against the actual enemy. I must confess, that I do not extend the same charity to the politicians, who deliberately plunge the country into any unjust or unnecessary war.

We should here but one consequence; and most happy would it be for mankind, were the management of the internal or external national concerns, as they are in private life. The irreproachable private character of the President, and of all the members of the Executive, is an honor and a respectability to the nation. There is not one of them who would not set up with indignation the most remote hint, as similar pretences to those alleged for dismembering Mexico, might be applied to attempting to appropriate to himself his neighbor's farm.

In the total absence of any argument that can justify the war in which we are now involved, resort has been had to the most extraordinary assertion. It is said, that the people of the United States have a hereditary superiority of race over the Mexicans, which gives them the right to subjugate and keep in bondage the inferior nation. This, it is said, is the basis of the claims of the United States, and of improving their social state, and of ultimately increasing the happiness of the masses. It is incompatible with the principle of democracy, which rejects every hereditary claim of superiority, to admit an hereditary superiority of race! You very properly deny, that the non-con, independent of his own merit, derive any right or privilege whatever, from the merit or any other social superiority of his father. Can you for a moment suppose, that a very doubtful descent from men, who lived one thousand years ago, has transmitted to you a superiority over your fellow-men? But Anglo-Saxons were inferior to the Goths, when the Spaniards claim to be descended; and they were in no respect superior to the Franks and to the Burgundians.

It is not to their Anglo-Saxon descent, but to a variety of causes, among which the subsequent mixture of Frenchified Normans, Angevins and Gascons must not be forgotten, that the English are indebted for their superior facilities. In the progressive improvement of mankind, much more has been due to religious and political institutions, than to races. Whenever the European nations, which, from their language and respectability, are regarded as superior, are presented to being to the Latin or Slavonian races, have conquered institutions similar to those of England, there will be no trace left of the pretended superiority of one of these races above the other. At this time, the present is the proper time to allege, and justify claim to be a product of the greatest detestable and unchristianlike principle, that no government is to be founded on the right of governing another man. He may, indeed, acquire a moral

influence over others, and as such is legitimate. The same principle will apply to nations. However superior the Anglo-American race may be to that of Mexico, this gives the Americans no right to infringe upon the rights of the inferior race. The people of the United States may, rightfully, and will, if they use the proper means, exercise a most beneficial moral influence over the Mexicans, and other less enlightened nations of America. Beyond this they have no right to go.

### RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

FACTS ABOUT THANKSGIVING.—Previous to 1821; the practice of setting apart a day of Thanksgiving by the Governor, was peculiar to New England. In that year, De Witt Clinton, then Governor of New York issued his proclamation, recommending the observance of a day named by him as a public Thanksgiving, and ever since that time the custom has been annually observed in this State on the recommendation of the Governor.

National Thanksgivings have been recommended in two instances, viz: by President Washington, (at the request of the first Congress,) on the organization of the government, and under the Constitution of the United States, in 1789, and by President Madison on the Peace with Great Britain, in 1815. A National Fast was recommended by President Madison during the war with Great Britain, and another by President Tyler on the death of General Harrison—Express.

CHRISTIAN UNION.—A number of meetings have been held in New York within a week or two past for the purpose of adopting a plan for holding a series of Union Meetings the coming winter. A committee of arrangements has been appointed. The plan purposes to embrace the evangelical churches of every creed. Rev. Dr. Peck of the Methodist church and Dr. Cox and Lansing of the Presbyterian, and several others made interesting addresses on the occasion.

THANKSGIVING IN VIRGINIA.—A day of Thanksgiving it seems has never been appointed by any Governor of Virginia. Some of the good people of that State (and some more) liking the custom, petitioned the Governor this year to appoint such a day, which would not see fit to do. The evil has been however in a measure remedied. In Lynchburg and some other places, the people have gathered on the 25th of November, and agreed to observe the 25th of November, in connection with the other twenty States. Perhaps next year they may have a State Thanksgiving.

EXAMINATION OF MISSIONARIES FOR CHINA.—On Thursday last week, says the Asia. Chr. Observer, the Rev. G. C. Baldwin and wife, of Bloomfield, N. J., the Rev. S. Cummings and wife, of New Hampshire, the Rev. Wm. L. Richards, son of Mr. Richards of the Sandwich Islands, and Mr. G. C. Baldwin, of the Sandwich Islands, were examined by the Rev. Mr. Phelps of Amoy, missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M., and the Rev. Mr. James, M. D. and wife, and another young brother of the A. B. C. F. M., and a ship Valparaiso, under the command of Mr. G. C. Baldwin, of the Sandwich Islands, from Philadelphia to Canton.

THE SAFETY OF REV. S. H. CALDWELL.—We stop the press to say to the friends of this missionary brother, that he is safe. It was feared that he had perished in the collision which occurred between the steamboat Tallahassee and the Mississippi River, on the morning of the 19th November, in consequence of which a few moments the Tallahassee sank to the bottom. Some fifty passengers, and perhaps more, perished. Mr. Caldwell, however, was saved.—Christian Watchman.

SECRET SOCIETIES.—The New London Association, Conn., at a recent meeting, adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, That this body deem it their duty to meet this matter with an open and decided expression of their convictions, and it is highly improper for members of churches to become members of such societies."

CHRISTIANS.—A letter to the Era states that there are about 1,500 churches and 150,000 communicants of this denomination in the United States. They are mostly confined to the free States but have some churches in Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina. In Kentucky among their churches there are no slaveholders, but there are a few in the other States.



**The President's Message.**  
Our readers were doubtless surprised, at the abundant evidence of prosperity exhibited in the long list of advertisements published with the Extra containing the President's Message. Congratulatory would have been misplaced. Not one of them was ours. They belonged to the Courier, from whose press, the head only being changed, extras were printed for some dozen papers beside our own.

#### Destitute and Orphan Children.

The Board of Overseers of the Poor at their last meeting, adopted a plan, which seems to us worthy of the attention of our citizens and of the community generally. They appointed a committee consisting of one member of the Board from each ward, whose duty it shall be to examine particularly into the condition of destitute children and to endeavor to procure homes for them. It is proposed that this committee open a correspondence with farmers and mechanics in the country, in reference to the employment of such children. It is well known that very often persons would be willing to afford happy homes for children, whom they would adopt as their own or receive as apprentices, and it is believed that, if it were known through this and the adjoining States that such a committee exists, many desirable situations could be obtained for children, who are now growing up without the blessings of home and who, unless kindly provided for, will become burthens to themselves and to the community. The committee intend to record the names, ages, &c., of children for whom homes are wanted, in a book, which will be placed in the County clerk or mayor's office, and open for the inspection of all interested in the subject. We have always regarded, with peculiar interest, any plan which aims to provide homes for destitute and orphan children. Homes are what they need. Asylums and large Institutions are often instruments of immeasurable good, but, after all, nothing can take the place of a home. Children in public institutions are too commonly regarded as institution-children in society but not of it, but let them once enter the sacred circle and be allowed to enjoy the privileges and endowments of home, however humble, and they regard themselves, and are regarded by others, as belonging to the community, genuine members of the great family.

We have before our minds two children, sisters, whose circumstances were of such a nature as to make their prospects dark indeed. Fatherless, and with a weak, intemperate mother, it seemed as if life must be to them a starless night. But each was adopted by a lady with a mother's heart, who provided a home for her, and became a mother to her; and now it is hard to say who have been most blessed, mothers or children.

We have recently heard of another instance. A woman in our city is now, with an incurable disease. A gentleman from a distant part of the State heard of her, and became acquainted with her. One of her children, a little boy, interested him deeply, and he offered to adopt him. The mother's heart swelled with joy unutterable, and now she is ready to depart in peace.

Blessings on those who give homes to the homeless, who become fathers to the fatherless. To them the Father of us all must always be peculiarly near, and his mansion above a peculiarly happy home.

#### Common Schools.

We are reading papers in Kentucky discussing this subject with some earnestness. Yet, in doing so, they speak plainly of the present state of things. The Frankfort Commonwealth says:

"The Common School system of Kentucky is a mockery."

To this, the Kentucky Gazette responds pertinently:

"Aye, and a most bitter one which terribly affects the welfare of thousands of the poor children of the State. But why? The Government of the State has squandered the funds solemnly set apart for the support of these schools, by appropriating a portion of it to defray the ordinary expenses of the State, and has borrowed the rest to invest in profitable public works. Upon this latter portion the State pays no interest, and the schools fail because there are no funds to sustain them."

By way of reminding the Commonwealth says: "This is hardly a fair statement of the school fund."

Yet it agrees with the Gazette—in this, that the State has not dealt fairly by her poor children. According to its theory, but in the failure to adopt some efficient school system for their benefit.

What is the condition of this common School Fund?

According to the Commonwealth it stands, at present, as follows:

Six bonds of the State of Kentucky bearing interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum.	\$97,500 00
750 shares of stock of the Bank of Kentucky.	73,500 00
Balance of interest due on these bonds, including interest up to 1st Jan'y, 1847.	256,673 33
Cash on hand.	2,539 25
<b>Total.</b>	<b>\$1,850,219 58</b>

Now should this fund be applied?

No paper, no man can hesitate in answering this question. It is a solemn trust, and there exists neither the moral, nor legal right, to convert it to any other use, except that of national education. "The State borrowed part of the fund, and invested the balance," says the Commonwealth. What right had it to do either? "It is in the shape of a debt due from the State," adds the same Journal. How came it in that "shape"? Trusts are specific. They state how, and for what end, a fund shall be used. The trust giving this large fund does this very thing. It declares that it shall be devoted to, and expended for, common school purposes in the State of Kentucky. And who is to do it? The Legislature of the State. But instead of doing this, instead of fulfilling the trust, it borrows part of the fund, and invests the balance? "All is safe," says one. No body questions that. Kentucky never will forfeit her word, or violate her public faith. She will pay to the last cent all she owes, and will pay it when due. But she is not the point. She has a school fund; large and profitable one—she is the trustee of that fund; and she has neglected—refused—to apply it as it ought to be applied, not only in violation of her moral obligation, but to the manifest injury of the public interest.

The Frankfort Commonwealth says the fault is, not in the investment, but in the fact, that we have no efficient school system. What difference does this make? What excuse is it for the misapplication of the fund? If any thing, it is only added to the injury done. For had not the Legislature the power to establish this system? Was it not bound, in carrying out the trust to do so? Apply the rule suggested, or the excuse offered, to the common business of life. Let any private citizen be made trustee of a fund bestowed for specific purposes, instead of applying it, let him borrow a part, and invest a part. Would a Chancellor listen to the apology which he might offer saying, "I did not do it as I agreed to do, but the money is all safe. I am rich; I borrowed part of it, and I invested the balance." Would the public regard, or call

him, a faithful trustee? We know full well that there will be difficulties, great difficulties, encountered, in establishing an efficient common school system in Kentucky, owing to a variety of causes—to sparseness of population in certain counties, prejudices among certain classes, &c., but these causes need not prevent the Legislature from maturing, and commencing a system, from manifesting the mind, the purpose, to do all an honest trustee could and should do. There cannot be two opinions on this subject. The school fund has been misapplied; a great wrong thereby has been done to the people of the State; and our Legislature in justice to them and itself should remedy it at once. Can a system of common schools be successfully established in Kentucky?

Why not? Men point to this difficulty and that, and shrug their shoulders, and answer with a depending eye. Shame upon this spirit! It is part of every freeman's birth-right to be educated. No State does its duty, and no people do themselves justice, where this is not demanded, and done. The common school fund is simple enough. The Commonwealth says, "It is simple enough, annually, would amount to 'over \$75,000, which, if paid promptly, much real good might be done.' If? There should be no such word on this subject. No legislator ought to admit it for a moment. Supposing this interest paid, the fund we repeat is simple enough, with a right legislation, to make education universal in Kentucky. What, then, is wanted? A wise and efficient system. And to establish this we must look around us, what Europe has done, know what our sister States are doing, in this great work.

What Ohio began, or a short time after, she sent one of her ablest citizens, Rev. C. E. Howe, to Europe to examine the institutions of Prussia, &c., and his report was published by that State. A year or two since, HORACE MANN, the wisest and ablest defender of the common school system went abroad, to see what improvement he might witness, in order that he might help perfect the Massachusetts system, confessedly the best in the world. Our superintendent, and our legislators through him, should be well versed in the principles and details, the practical workings of the common schools of other States, and thus making such alterations as our circumstances require, be prepared to adopt the very best. As for difficulties we must expect them. They will come to us, as they have come to all, as a matter of course. But starting right we have only to be patient to ensure certain and entire success. Ohio had great trouble in certain sections of the State, in inducing her people to support her common schools; indeed, her earlier efforts proved seemingly a failure. She persevered, and what was the result? Says Gov. Bibb, in his late able message—"the common school system is firmly established in the habits and affections of the people." And so will it be in Kentucky, if Kentucky does her duty. Let us begin right, and we shall end right.

But we protest earnestly and solemnly at the ideas suggested by the Commonwealth, and too generally entertained, that the common school is a sort of "poor institution." "The State has not dealt justly by her poor children," says that excellent Journal, referring to the misuse of the education fund. The common school is destined to be the great institution of every well governed republic. The idea on which it rests is, that it shall be open to all, rich and poor, and that the children of all shall look to it for instruction. One notable feature of the system is, that among its good results, it will, as it is perfected, bring together in boyhood days, children of all classes, and thus master the narrow prejudices and artificial distinctions, which reality, and a miserable pride, alone create. Who thinks in Boston of sending his boy to any other than the public, the common school? The sons of the poorest laboring men, and of the wealthiest merchants, sit there, side by side, learn together, play together, and rise or fall as they will or ill; it is the greatest equality. So should it be here, and so it will be, if our people, if our legislators, if our press, demand it from the first, as a common duty we owe the State, and a common right possessed by every citizen of the State. Away with all distinctions! Away with the idea that the common school is only the institution of the poor! Let us perfect it, and, always bear in mind, always act upon the idea, in the Legislature and out of it, that it is not what it should be, until it offers the very best opportunity to every child.

We trust the intelligent editors of the Commonwealth and the Gazette will, as they promise, keep this subject before the people, and press it earnestly until a successful beginning is made.

#### Captain M. Clay.

"Mine host" of the Mansion House, Frankfort, gave a fine venison supper to some fifty or sixty guests, and among other invited guests was C. M. CLAY, Mr. FINKEL of the Commonwealth. Mr. FINKEL of the Commonwealth, proposed his health. This was drunk standing, amid general applause, and hearty greeting. Mr. C. responded, briefly, acknowledging the courtesy and kindness of the company in English language, but declining to give his views as to Mexican affairs, or the war, on that occasion. He concluded by toasting the intelligence and hospitality of the citizens of Frankfort.

The Lexington Observer and Reporter of yesterday gives the following account of his reception in that city:

CAPT. C. M. CLAY'S ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION.  
The firing of cannon at early dawn on Saturday morning last, in conjunction with printed advertisement freely circulated among our citizens, made known to them that this gentleman would certainly arrive at 2 o'clock, P. M. Long preceding that time a large concourse of people, in many of the glorious victories which have crowned our arms in Mexico, altogether had awakened and enlisted the warmest sympathies of his fellow-citizens.

Minute guns were fired as he entered the city. After reaching the principal street, Capt. Clay, in behalf of the military, welcomed him home in a brief, eloquent and tasteful address, which Capt. Clay, in appropriate and feeling terms, responded to. Rear-Admiral, who presided at the meeting of the citizens, which resolved to give to Capt. Clay the compliment of a public reception, then took the stand, and in a most beautiful and cordial manner, welcomed the gallant Captain, and then, in a warm response from the multitude which surrounded him.

After Mr. Todd concluded, the procession moved on to the residence of Capt. Clay, where they took leave of him.

The reception, however, ended not here. The friends of Capt. Clay had prepared for him a large and splendid banquet, which was served in the most beautiful manner, and which was attended by a large and distinguished company.

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#### A Bitter Poet.

The author of the following little poem on the watch has never seen the object for which he has no such affection. "Ceaseless might reign around him, but it is a light."

"Of cloudless climes and starry skies,"  
The things of night are so black to him, that there where those who have eyes see only gloom. A beautiful hazy dream of Night by our friend was published in the Herald, from which we give the following extract:

"Tell me no longer that night, most beautiful birth of creation,  
Aught can possess that is gloomy, for darkness like light is from heaven.  
Wondrous indeed are thy works, kind messenger, comfort-bestowing,  
I am thy child, O Night; thy fond hand bestowed maternal."

Guided and guided most, through life's path  
devious and lonely;  
O'er these eyes thou spreadest the veil of thy  
beauteous presence,  
Shedding from kindly objects that dazzle but do not enlighten."

Yet hast thou opened within, deep sources of bliss without measure,  
Borrowed from the light, ever active in sweet contemplation,  
Filling with images pleasing, with lofty concepts  
my spirit.

Melodious have around me, for nature in tones  
ever varied,  
Heard, comprehended alone by the soul when  
pondering in silence,  
Chanteth that anthem of power, which lifted  
the pure intellect to the culture of the  
highest, majestic, sublime; blithe Haydn and  
sombre Beethoven.

These are thy gifts, O Night, sweet solace of many a sadnes,  
I rejoice for thee, outward, when views like  
these of the inward  
Great me incessantly! Never, but trustingly  
onward, still onward  
Toil the journey of life, and arrived at earth's  
eternal period,  
Find in a fadeless Elysium, a vision by earth  
unbelieved."

For the Examiner.

#### The Watch.

Let me fold thee to my bosom,  
Child of cunning art;  
What thou art in this mornth,  
Like a human heart,  
Beating, beating, ceaselessly,  
As thou wert part of me?

When hast thou thy life, thy being?  
Say, can man alone  
Give to thee thy quick pulsation,  
And that secret tone,  
With such mystic meaning fraught  
As the voice of infant thought?

Ab, thou art but lifeless matter,  
Framed by human skill;  
Yet to me a fitting emblem  
Of the human will,  
Striving, striving ceaselessly  
To fulfill its destiny.

Through the day's unrest and trial,  
Through the night so long,  
Thou dost ever teach this lesson  
In thy measured song,  
Time is flying—be the strife,  
Constant till the close of life.

#### Supreme Court.

This body met at Washington, December 6. Present, Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice, John McLean, James M. Wayne, John Catron, Levi Woodbury, Robert C. Grier, Associate Justices.

Secretary of War's Report.  
There is a good deal of tact and ability in this report. It is evident, that the Secretary knows how to handle his pen, and understands how to make a strong case. His report is certainly an able one.

Naturally we look to this report to see what is to be done in the future in regard to Mexico. The past we know. But the future—what of that? How are we to conduct or carry on the war hereafter.

The Secretary of War says:—  
Our further operations must, in my opinion, be conducted in one of the three following modes: 1st. To take and hold an indemnity line; to recede from all places and positions now occupied in advance of it, and cease from all aggressive operations beyond that line. 2dly. To overrun the whole country, and hold all the principal places in it by permanent garrisons. 3dly. To retain what we now possess, open the lines of communication into the interior, and extend our operations to other important places, as our means and the prospect of advantage shall indicate—keeping a disposable force always ready, within approachable limits, to annoy the enemy, to seize supplies, and to execute such other operations as may be required to collect means and assemble troops for the purpose of prosecuting the war.

The first, or line policy, Mr. Marcy objects to. He thinks it cannot be executed on safely, or effectively. It will not lead to peace, and must thwart the very object we desire to accomplish.

The second, occupying the whole country, the Secretary regards almost an impossibility. It could only be done at an enormous expense, and by an enormous army. He puts down the men required at SEVENTY-TWO THOUSAND! Hear him:—  
Our posts must therefore be strong, and our forces numerous, in order to secure the many and long lines of communication, to disperse and chastise the guerrilla bands which would obstruct them, and to support the more important lines of the people wherever they may be attempted. I cannot safely estimate the force requisite to carry into full effect this plan, but I think it would be in the neighborhood of one hundred thousand men. To insure the presence of that number in the enemy's country, at places where they would be wanted, it would be necessary to raise a much larger force. The great expense of raising, organizing, and sending to their remote destination a large body of troops as soon as needed to give effect to this plan, would, I apprehend, bring a very heavy, and perhaps embarrassing, demand upon the treasury.

The third mode, retaining what we possess, the Secretary prefers. This he defends thus:—  
The third mode presented to me, in my judgment, preferable to the others. Beyond certain limits, admits of expansion and contraction; but as a fixed condition, all held to be retained, and no part surrendered, but in compliance with treaty stipulations. This plan also accomplishes further acquisitions extending to other important points, and is less numerous, as circumstances may warrant.

The question is, how many troops are necessary for this end? This question the Secretary answers. This does he arrange them:

Regulars—25 regiments—of Infantry 16; Artillery 4; Dragoons 3; Riflemen 1; Volunteers 12; now in service.	28,814
Volunteers—23 regiments; 1 Battalion, and 33 companies—in service.	20,000
<b>Total.</b>	<b>48,814</b>

Forty-one thousand! We have not that number in the field. By the fate of war, and the more fatal effects of climate, our army is not set down anywhere over 30,000 efficient men. The South Carolina regiment, for instance, has not one hundred. All held to be retained, and no part surrendered, but in compliance with treaty stipulations. This plan also accomplishes further acquisitions extending to other important points, and is less numerous, as circumstances may warrant.

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#### Sweeping Out.

Emancipation is becoming the order of the day. Some time ago, we announced that GUANA, in consequence of the action of the home Government, had taken preparatory steps to abolish slavery.

Now, we have the pleasure to state, the consummation of the act—not by France, but by the colonists themselves—by the slaveholders of GUANA! What an example! How the world would ring with applause if here, and now, the slaveholders of Kentucky should follow it.

On the 31st August a series of propositions were made at the session of the Council, accompanied by a long report. These were offered by Messrs. Savage, and Quistin, as the basis of a new plan of emancipation for French Guiana. The principal features, as condensed by the Salem Gazette, we copy:

"The inhabitants of French Guiana will accept the immediate emancipation of their slaves, and will give their active support to that measure, on the following conditions:

"By the same act which shall proclaim emancipation to Guiana, there shall be allowed, by the parent State, an indemnity of thirty francs and seventy-five francs for each slave, of all ages and sexes, existing in the Colony. (This estimate is the annual value, officially ascertained.)

"The amount of this indemnity, two-thirds shall be paid to the proprietors. The remainder shall form a common fund, to secure the introduction of bound laborers from the Colony."

"The laborers, to be introduced from Asia and Africa; but laborers designed for the direction of the cultivators, &c., may be brought from Europe. Each proprietor shall have the right to receive the same number of bound laborers that he possessed of slaves."

"On the day when emancipation shall be proclaimed, those heretofore slaves shall be subjected to an engagement of five years, and shall be placed at once under the protection of the engagement, to the establishments to which they respectively belong."

These main propositions were accompanied with ample details; the whole being referred to a Committee of the Council, who reported upon the subject at the October session. The report goes into the subject, at great length, and presents the following conclusions:

"If it were possible to consider this question abstractly from its future consequences, it would be easy to say, from the Colonial point of view: 'Let the State grant to each proprietor of slaves, an indemnity of thirty francs for each of the said slaves, and of the property to which they are attached.'

"Emancipation is proclaimed in the French Colonies."

"From the Metropolitan point of view, the formula would be still more easy. The following edict would be sufficient:

"Emancipation is proclaimed in the French Colonies."

"The Committee on a full review of the plan, submitted by Messrs. Savage and St. Quantin, observe that it proposes to attain two objects: 1st. In accomplishing the great measure of emancipation, to reduce as much as possible the expenses to be incurred by the Metropolitan Government, in order to give to the proprietors an indemnity which they would consider sufficient. 2dly. To favor, with no other sacrifice, a result as desirable as the first—the development of colonization."

"The Committee find the combinations, proposed for the attainment of this double end, acceptable. The plan is the advantage of the Colonists, and of presenting not only no impossibility, but not even any serious difficulty of execution."

Well done slaveholders of Guiana! The act is yours; so shall the praise be! You have decreed freedom to the bond; and freemen will honor and cherish you! For liberty you have forgotten self-interest; and the world will bless you! And soon, in the noble fulfillment of your purpose we shall hear that:

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blood of his creatures, it is hereby resolved, with the concurrence and approval of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Montgomery Lawrence, C. B., Agent-General, North-west Frontier, and President at Lahore, that the practices heretofore, together with that of slave-dealing, be abolished henceforth and forever within the dominions of the Lahore Government."

"Accordingly it is hereby proclaimed, that no slave, or police officer, or landholder, or cultivator, or any other subject of Lahore, is permitted to commit the crime of slave-dealing, or the murder of female infants, or the burning of a widow on the pile of her husband, or the sale of men, women, or children."

"And if, after this proclamation, any one shall be guilty of either of the said offences, it will be the duty of district officers to give immediate information thereof to the Durbar, more especially in the case of stealing and selling children; and if any durbar shall fail to do so, he will be held personally responsible for the same. Let public officers, therefore, as soon as they hear of anything of the sort, seize and imprison the perpetrators, slanders and betrayers thereof, and give notice to the Durbar, who will sit in judgment thereon."

"And be it known that no distinction will be made between the actual perpetrator of any of the crimes aforesaid, and those who aid or abet him in the perpetration, both will be equally punished."

"Written, signed, and sealed at Lahore, on 8th Sawan, 1263, with the royal signet."

"Let all men, therefore, obey it."

"What an illustration, too, of the effect of example! When Lord HASTINGS attempted to change the social order of the East, and introduce christian notions, there seemed no hope to cheer him on, so dark was the prospect. One State moved; then another; and then another—until grandees, chiefs, and kings became ambitious to root out the monstrous evils which had so long existed in the East Indies, so that the contest is now wide as the firmament in the great work of reform. Shall we be in the background? Must we lag behind uncivilized India? Just imagine Kentucky taking the lead in Emancipation and Virginia following, and ask what State would not be compelled to follow them? The South could not help itself. Slaveholders themselves, would cry aloud for emancipation. Freedom would be the universal law."

Up, friends! Never fear; work; and you will set free! God and man are with and for you!

The Flood.  
Since the great freshet of 1832, our usually gentle and beautiful river, has presented no such appearance of desolation and magnificence as it now does.

Hitherto the accumulations of winter have poured down their turbid torrents in the first opening of spring, when snow, and sleet, and ice had melted away, and those whose homes had been devastated by their passage, had no fierce encounter to sustain with freezing blasts and all the dire calamities of sudden winter. It was hard enough, when exposure in the open air was severely felt as a misfortune, to be driven farth from one's home—to suffer, for days or weeks together, the discomfort and privation of a dreary and desolate; but the misery is tenfold, when the poor are overtaken by such a calamity, in the midst of December snow and cold. Thousands of homeless, penniless, unfortunate, by this visitation have lost their all, are thrown out of employment, and must look to charity for the means of preserving life. We deplore the losses sustained by the rich, but they are only temporary, they bring with them no derangement of social comfort, no diminution of customary luxuries; a day has made them and a day can make but, to the poor, scantily clad, living by their daily labor, to lose all their little earnings, and hoarded store of absolute necessities, such an event is appalling. It is not a momentary interruption, which a few hours will repair, to be joked on when it is over; but a real, crushing disaster, felt for months and remembered only with a shudder. If ever there was a time or an event which called for active sympathy and large benevolence, it is the present.

Apart from such considerations, the scene is full of grandeur. Scarcely an element of terrible sublimity is wanting, vastness, power, motion, human beings reduced to supernatural existence. On either shore one wide, wintry waste of cold, cheerless snow—falling pitilessly and ceaselessly. Hills lifting their whitened summits to the sky—frowning beneath their frowning vestments—giant sentinels watching with the mighty stream—all together present a scene of unsurpassed magnificence.

There is no cessation, no abatement of the flood, but from every quarter "the cry is still it comes!" Deepening and widening in its career of ruin. And the prospect is, that when it has reached its higher point, it will stand out in the history of western inundations, unequalled and alone—memorable as it is in its locality.

"Cold as charity." What sort of charity? We never met with any charity which had not a warm heart, and a heart too, that grew warmer, as the weather became colder.

"Cold as charity." We wonder if charity has sunk to the freezing point in the heart of that white-haired old man, whom we have seen during the last trying weather, by day and by night, in the high-ways, and by-ways, in wide streets and narrow alleys, taking the gauged and dimensions of suffering and woe, for carrying food to the hungry, clothing to the naked, and hope to all. If such charity be cold, we pray that its frosty breath may be felt throughout our city, until all hearts, among rich and poor, are chilled into benevolence and frozen into gratitude.

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